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The Importance of the Jews for the Preservation and Revival of Learning during the Middle Ages.

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The Importance of the Jews for the Preservation and Revival of Learning during the Middle Ages

BY

Dr. M. I. SCHLEIDEN

Translated into English
from the Fourth revised and augmented edition
by
MAURICE KLEIMENHAGEN

With an introduction by the
Rev. Professor HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A.Lit.D.

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THE following pages have been submitted to me, and as far as my time permitted, I have compared them with the original and found them substantially correct.

It affords me pleasure to know that there are men devoted to commercial interests who, amid the storm and stress of life, have yet a mind for higher things, and rise to the desire to accomplish something on behalf of their fellow men. The translator is a member of my congregation, son of a worthy father, who was a collaborator and writer of no mean repute; and the fact that the subject matter of this sketch is flattering to the race to which he belongs, far from detracting from the merit of the translator, rather goes to show that he is imbued with a fine feeling of loyalty to the cause of his fathers, and zealous for the honour of Judaism. *The special value, however, which attaches to this brochure lies in the consideration that it presents the views of a non-Jewish author, writing in a spirit of independence and from conviction, upon a theme which will ever be of all-engrossing interest to the world at large—to Jew and non-Jew alike.*

With these few remarks, I wish the little work in its English form a wide and useful career, and trust that it will invite that large circle of readers, who have neither the time nor the opportunity to consult the more bulky volumes which deal discursively with the subject.

HERMANN GOLLANCZ.

April, 1911.

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Introduction.

Engaged upon some cursory reading of Jewish history and upon a somewhat more systematic study of the history of Jewish literature, I chanced to see the following remarkable essay by the late Dr. Schleiden.

This short publication can scarcely be called remarkable on account of its actual subject matter, which contains little, if anything, new to the real student of the subject; but what characterizes it as highly remarkable is the fact that its author was a Christian Professor of Science, who wrote and published this essay at a time when the battle of Anti-semitism in Germany and Austria had reached its culminating point; when that execrable movement had assumed threatening proportions, not stopping short at the disfiguring of historical truth, trying to rob Judaism of its reputation in the world of letters and learning, which it had well earned by generations of gifted scholars, whose work had left its mark upon the development of almost every field of human research and knowledge.

It is difficult to understand how historical, bibliographical, and even encyclopædic works could omit to mention names of the first order, such as Maimonides, or accord them but the merest passing notice.

It therefore required a singular boldness at that particular period to appear before the world a sa champion of Jews and Judaism.

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The essay contained in the following pages went through a number of editions and was translated into French and Italian. With the growing interest which the English speaking nations have of late undoubtedly evinced in matters relating to Judaism and Jews, to Jewish history and Jewish literature, and with the increasing interest in these subjects manifested by the younger Jewish generation, fostered by the spiritual leaders of latter-day Jews *intra ecclesiam et extra*, I thought that an English edition of this essay would be timely.

Dr. Schleiden wished to do justice to the greatest sufferers History has ever known, and to right their position in the world of scholarly and scientific research; not pretending to teach Hebraists or general scholars of Jewish literature, but endeavouring to address a large circle of educated readers, whom he hoped to interest. He is accurate on the whole, if not too exhaustive; he is lucid and terse in his exposition of the more important authors dealing with philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy and jurisprudence. If the tone which he adopts is decidedly philo-judaic, he adheres as near as possible to the path of historical truth.

So much injustice has been done to Judaism and Jews, that it is high time to proclaim from the housetops what they have done for humanity, and in how great a measure they have helped—and I may add, are continuing to help—to spread light amongst men.

In conclusion, I wish to say, although this is scarcely necessary, that there are passages and statements for which I decline any responsibility beyond that of accuracy of translation.

I have to present my sincere acknowledgments to the Rev. Professor Hermann Gollancz, M.A., Lit. D., and to

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Mr. Albert Bassett-Hopkins, M.A., for valuable help in the translation of difficult passages and the revision of the manuscript respectively.

The appendix enumerates all works of reference and a few of the original sources upon which certain statements are based, and the numbers in the text correspond with those of the works cited.

"FIAT JUSTITIA."

LONDON, *May*, 1911. M. KLEIMENHAGEN.

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Preface.

It has given me great satisfaction to find that this essay, really no more than an imperfect attempt, has been noticed in a manner, which I could hardly venture to expect. This is perhaps partly due to the recognition of the feeling which caused me to pen these chapters, a wish at least to make a commencement to set right a part of the unspeakable wrong which has been done to the Jews by the Christians.

In order to complete my work, there should be an historical survey relating to "Romance of the Martyrdom amongst the Jews." I feel, however, that Providence will scarcely grant me time and strength to accomplish this. But doubtless, without me and my work, Judaism will live and develop.

Who that has ever endeavoured to attain general culture has not made himself acquainted with the long line of great names, which connect the brilliant Jews of the middle ages with the intellectual revival of our time, beginning with Maimonides and through Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn, Salomon Maimon, coming to the many famous names abounding in Germany, France, England and other Countries, such as Graetz, Frankel (men connected with the Rabinical Seminary at Breslau), Emanuel Deutsch, Salvador, Munk, and many more.

During the chaotic confusion of the Migration of the Nations, a wise aged Jew remarked, "Nations appear and vanish, but Israel remains for ever." So far, history has confirmed this statement.

Many kind scholars have helped me in the preparation of this corrected edition, and I have to tender my sincere and hearty thanks especially to Professor Graetz and Dr. Rosin of Breslau.

Dr. M. I. SCHLEIDEN.

WIESBADEN, *January*, 1879.

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MY studies in the history of botany necessarily led me to the works of Albrecht the Great (Albertus Magnus). His relation to Thomas Aquinas, his dependence upon Aristotle and Arabic writers caused me to ask myself the question, who were the intermediaries between these scholars and the students of earlier sources? I went more deeply into their researches — and as a result I gained an insight into circumstances, which our greatest historical works pass over in silence, although they are of vital importance for the history of the development of the human race.—A short and clear exposition of the result of my enquiries is contained in the following essay.

The Jews have been and remain the most remarkable people of any age, and if we admit the symbolism, we may well call them "God's Chosen People".

The fact that they suffered for nearly two thousand years the most cruel, the most sanguinary persecutions, alike from Pagan, Persian, Moslem and Christian, and yet not only remained a nation true to the present day to their original spiritual character, but continued to spread and increase in a more favourable proportion than any other people, regardless of climatic and other conditions[1]), makes them appear one of the most interesting subjects for serious and thoughtful historical study.

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They are the oldest people in existence representing a pure Monotheism, and it is in fact owing to the purity of their belief in God, that they have maintained a code of ethics, by living in conformity with its doctrines, thus showing that the law of morality carried into active life is the true object of religious belief.

The whole of Europe has had its Middle Ages, a period of brutality, of mental and intellectual decay in the highest imaginable degree. The Jews alone form a distinct exception to this deplorable state of things. In spite of dispersion and oppression which frequently deprived them of the simplest rights of humanity, even of the very right of existence, they continued until the end of the Middle Ages to develop their intellectual life; to preserve and hand over to the other nations the principles of morality and spiritual life. Intellectually and nobly gifted characters as they were, they stumbled at times, if happy moments made life too easy for them, but every trouble, every misery which allowed them to lead a mere semblance of human existence only tended to ennoble and to spur them to increased intellectual and moral effort.

The devastation of the Jewish countries through the Assyrians and Babylonians caused them primarily to collect their own mental assets and to unite the whole treasure of their past intellectual life into one entity; the writings of Moses, the Psalms, the works of the Prophets contain a great deal of matter, elevating and sanctifying even to the Christians of to-day. The Jews stamped the impress of their material inheritance upon the methods of their daily life.

Unshakable belief in God and moral action, in so far as they had recognised the latter as a duty, gave them that strength of enthusiasm which enabled their small nation for nearly a century to maintain the fight agains tthe Roman-giant

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Empire, which had to make a greater effort in fighting Judaea than any other nation, however mighty.

The heroism of the Jews under the Maccabæans, the struggle wich ended with the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, then the desperate fight under Bar Kochba[a]) lasting some years, and later still, the Jewish defence of Naples against Belisarius, or the defending of the Passes of the Pyrenees against the Franconians[b], places them on an equality with the greatest heroes of which history knows. They succumbed to immense physical odds; the Nation as such was destroyed, the people dispersed from China and India through Africa and Europe to the most distant western point then known. But the people remained "One People", maintaining an uninterrupted communication among all its members and recognising always in the continued development of their moral and mental life a centre which kept them closely connected.

Wherever a Jew went he found brethren in creed and thought, and was sure of a friendly reception and active assistance.

Three points have to be considered here, which facilitated the diffusion of intellectual activity and its results amongst the whole of the people. The first was their commercial efficiency. The ancient writers credit the Phenicians as being the oldest traders. I think that the word "Phenician" lacks keen geographical limitation and was never meant to be understood in this limited sense. Phenicians and Syrians are the names of those Semites only who lived near the coast and the interior of Syria.

Where Herodotus speaks of "Phenicians" he only seems to mean those Syrians who carried on commerce in the Mediterranean Sea. He travelled in Syria about the

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time of the exile but knows no Israel, no Judaea, but only Syrians. His Palestine Syrians are those who lived in a more southerly direction towards the coast, the Philistines of the Jews; the town "Cadytis" which he mentions according to the travelling route described by him appears to be Gaza. The tribes of the Israelites: Sebulon, Dan, Asser carried on for some time a maritime trade and combined with the Phenicians[4]) in their seafaring life.

That the Israelites were naturally bold traders at Sea was shown by the Ophir-voyages under Usia in the 8th Century, about the time of the Odyssey[5]), and again much later during the Middle Ages, where they almost monopolized the trans-oceanic traffic.

If we gather these facts, we can scarcely doubt, that there were Israelites with the sea-trading Phenicians who spoke a tongue almost the same as theirs, and who through their early religious training were intellectually related to them; further that in the Phenician settlements on the North African coast, in the Italian Islands, near Marseilles, in Spain etc. Israelites would be likely to congregate. Points of common interest were easily found, when frequent subjugation of their native land caused them to migrate.

We may therefore safely conclude that even before the beginning of the Christian Era, Jewish congregations were to be found as far as the extreme western points of Europe, while we know with historical certainty that Jewish colonies existed in Assyria, Babylon, Egypt and Rome at this period. Paul entered Rome only during his journey to Spain[6]), and he could only have had cause to undertake this journey, knowing that he might rely upon a friendly reception by his countrymen.

Long before the Saracenic occupation Taracona was

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named the Jewish city[7]), and these Jewish settlements spread and grew still more after the destruction of Jerusalem through Titus, until the whole of the world as far as it was known at that time was permeated by Jewish colonies which maintained a constant connection among each other through the many travelling merchants who diffused all the products of their mental life as quickly as they sold their wares, while the other nations became more and more isolated and were cut off from the few remaining meagre sources of intelligence. The Romance nations became torpid, while the Germanic races remained for a long time in a state of savagery, and thus there developed the dark days of the middle Ages, which the Jew never knew. The Jews, on the other hand, remained in uninterrupted contact with the centres of their intellectual life, wherever these flourished, and they applied to their schools of learning for advice and guidance, whenever they were unable to come to a right decision in matters of importance[7a]).

The second factor which promoted the spiritual development of Judaism were the scholastic centres which had been established long before the beginning of the Christian Era by Simon ben Shetach under the reign of Salome Alexandra (79—70) in all towns of importance for the young men, who under compulsion of attendance, had to apply themselves from their sixteenth year to the study of the Holy Scriptures and the Law.

There were already then in existence colleges conducted by a few famous scholars in Jerusalem and other towns of Judaea as well as in Alexandria in Egypt. How greatly the Jews valued these schools is illustrated by the circumstance that the highest of them was called "Kallah" i. e. the "Bride". Instruction to the young men was deemed the highest duty; it was considered a greater merit to contribute to

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the schools than to the Synagogues. Even when the building of the Temple was in question, school attendance must not be neglected[8]).

Hillel's best pupil, Jochanan ben Sakkai, escaped from besieged Jerusalem and obtained from Vespasian permission to establish a school at Jabneh (Jamnia). This was the first of a number of collegiate institutions which spread throughout all countries, and many of which obtained scholarly fame and became the foundations of Christian academies.

In Jabneh a commencement was made with the compilation of the "Talmud" (Mischna and Gemara); schools arose at Lydda, Bekiin, later at Nisibis and Nahardea. After Bar Kochba's rising Akiba's students founded the school of Usha and later still the college at Sephoris was established. The teachers of these schools were called "Tanaim". About the middle of the third century the Jews of Palestine were forced trough political pressure to step into the background, but their place was taken by the Jews of Babylon who enjoyed a greater measure of liberty. The scholars who taught here as commentators and exegetists of the dark Mishnaic sentences were called "Amoraim". The college at Tiberias still flourished, but soon the academies of Pumbadita, Machuza, Silhi, Shakan-Zib became more important. Rabbi Huna greatly raised the school of Sura, which for a long time remained the most important rival of Pumbadita, the latter counting some twelve hundred students under Rabbah ben Nachmani. It was at Sura that the whole of the Talmud was elaborated by RabbanaAshi, although only isolated parts existed in writing until 550, the large remainder having been entrusted to memories, highly trained by constant exercise. Among the scholars, who were now called "Saburaim", were Rabbi Giza and Rabbi Simuna, who put into writing the whole of the Talmud. At

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an early time Jews had settled in Arabia and their colonies grew, particulary when the Persian kings also became ruthless persecutors of the Jewish race[9]). Their centre here was Jahtrib (the Medina of later days) and their position with the Arabs was an honourable and almost a ruling one. Almost every Jew could write and every member of the community was able to read the Holy Scripture; that explains the name the Arabs conferred upon them by calling them the "Ahl ul Kitab[10])" (the people of the Writ). The intellect of the Arabs improved the language and the scientific and poetical education of the Jews. The colleges at Jahtrib and Tiberias stood in close connection whith each other. The best in the Koran is derived from the Jews.

Under Omar's reign Sura and Pumbadita obtained fresh fame and the principal of the college of Sura had the title Gaon (Eminence) conferred upon him. The conversion of the Chazarim to Judaism soon followed and subsequent to this new schools were founded in their territory.

It was at this time that Judaism rose in the western world. Schools, Colleges, academies arose rapidly in Spain, France, Italy; and many of these soon gained so great a reputation that among the students are found Christians and even clerics who had scarcely any other opportunity to gain an intellectual training. At the same period we find the establishment of Jewish schools under Arab rule in Bagdad, Kairuan (North Africa) and Neru (in Chorassan). At an early period we see schools flourishing in Spain, at Toledo, Granada and Cordova; at Lunel, Beziérs, Beaucaire and Narbonne in France; at Modena, Mantua, Padua, Genoa, Naples, Amalfi, Benevente and Rome in Italy, and in numerous other towns. The medical school of Montpellier was founded by the Jews, and they were principally instrumental

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in the establishment of the school of Salerno. Through the rise of the occidental schools, which soon became equal to the Gaonic colleges and ultimately surpassed them, the last remnant of the outward centralization of Judaism disappeared, the only connecting links now being its pure Monotheism, its Holy Scriptures, and its Ethical Law. The difference between teacher and people almost entirely disappeared, owing to the high degree of intellectuality on the part of the latter; the teacher was teacher and nothing else; and it is for this reason, that the period beginning the tenth century is simply called the "Rabbinical era".

I have only emphasized a few principal points; in reality the number of the schools was immensely large, as every town of moderate importance had one and frequently several collegiate institutions. The number of the pupils often reached two thousand in such schools where famous professors taught, and the students in many instances came from long distances. It was not customary to pay fees for the lessons or lectures, as the lecturers lived on their own means, or gained a livelihood by some trade or profession. It was quite an exception that a teacher of acknowledged scholarly standing, even in very poor circumstances, would take fees from his students, while it frequently happened that the pupils were assisted or entirely supported by their professors.

The third point, which facilitated the intellectual progress of the Jews was their linguistic knowledge, a subject for which they apparently possessed a natural gift. Already before the Christian Era there were many Jews, particularly in Alexandria, who spoke Hebrew and Greek; at the time of the Roman Rule they learned Latin, later Syriac, after that Arabic, and finally they added Spanish, French and German

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to their knowledge of languages. During the whole of the Middle Ages there were only very few Jews, and those belonging to the lowest class, who did not understand at least two languages; and the names of many have been preserved to us, who completely commanded from five to seven languages.

The Religion of the Jew centred in the simple belief in *one* purely spiritually conceived God, and entailed the duty to lead a moral life as the one essential means of sanctification[11]) and the one true form of Divine Service; we find this conception already clearly indicated by the Prophets. No quarrelling about dogmatic differences could find its way into their discussions to keep them away from fruitful research work, as their pure Monotheism never entered into conflict with the products of reasonable reflection. On the other hand, the highly developed moral teaching of the Jews, which regulated their social relationships, as well as the cycle of their popular festivals, mostly based upon historical foundation, were connecting points with the whole territory of science and scholarly research.

Their ethical doctrines regulated the treatment of the suffering and sick. The fact that their codes of law were written in a language partly antiquated and only with difficulty understood, the ancient Hebraic, led them to philological study and exegesis; the subject-matter of the ancient books drew attention to the philosophy of law and general jurisprudence, while the necessity of fixing the dates of the festivals was productive of astronomical and mathematical study.

Every new phase of human life, every new vicissitude in which they found themselves through their dispersion, caused a further development of laws and regulations which

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had originally been created for a limited and simple state of life. This wide mental activity naturally led to the desire to find a common centre of thought and general principles of study; and they came to recognise that philosophical research was the illuminating centre of all intellectual work.

A very fortunate consideration favoured this condition: as Jews had no dogma, they wanted no priesthood. True, priests presided at the Temple of Jerusalem and superintended the sacrificial and ceremonial cults, but they had no influence on the essentials of religion. Even the Prophets had lowered the value of the sacrificial cults, and they ceased entirely after the destruction of the second Temple. The Jews were thus entirely free in their mental development and their researches were unaffected by clerical influence.

The purity of faith was protected by the leaders of the schools, and indeed by the whole people, who knew that if they gave up their belief in God, they would have sacrificed their very essence.

It would be interesting to depict the history of the mental development of Judaism from the Alexandrian period to our own time in detailed form, a task which appears all the more tempting as all our great historical works entirely ignore the Jews from the moment that their power had ceased to carry things at the point of the sword. This, however, would mean the elaboration of an extensive book; and I shall therefore be content to demonstrate in a short sketch that the intellectual life of the Jews during the Middle Ages remained active and that the Jews were largely instrumental in making a revival of learning possible.[14]) Before I proceed to give a brief survey of details, I must not omit to mention the Talmud, a work of which so few of even the educated class know more than the name, and the fact that it belongs

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to Judaism. It is so to speak a counterpart and in a measure a continuation of the so called Old Testament with which it shares this characteristic, that it is not the work of one mind and not a homogeneous elaboration. After the return of the Jews from the Exile, Ezra saw that a common centre was required for all those who were returning; for this purpose he collected old traditions of various Palestinian Tribes and the remnants of their literature, and elaborated them—if not always with skill—into the History of a people subservient to a Theocracy. Immediately afterwards the Talmud was commenced. It became necessary to adapt the old laws and regulations, partly forgotten and partly amalgamated with Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian views, to the newer circumstances and necessities of the actual life of the period.

By degrees this was done through the "Soferim," men learned in the Holy Scriptures, who taught in the schools. The new researches and their results were entrusted principally to memory; these studies were continued for about eight hundred years, the writing down of notes beginning at a late period only and in a sparing measure, and it was not till the sixth century of the Christian Era that the whole had been laid down in writing. This collective work was simply called "Talmud," (from "lamad" to learn). All intellectual endeavours in the most varied directions, and treating on every conceivable subject are contained in the Talmud, which could be best defined as a chronicle describing the efforts at culture during the whole period of history which it affected. Only latter day efforts are beginning to do justice to this giant creation, and Emanuel Deutsch was the first scholar who provided a clear exposition of its nature and contents, which may be understood by those not otherwise conversant with this branch of literature.[18])

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Bible and Talmud were the two bases on which the further development of Judaism rested ; and justly so, as they touched every relation in life, from the highest to the lowest. Following their perusal, and stimulated by their study, came the works of the various scholars, which so far as their merit went, have been preserved to the present day.

In order to gain a correct opinion about the Talmud, it is necessary to remember that its very nature consists of supplements, exegesis and application. Those who contributed to this gigantic collection took the knowledge of the older Jewish literature—the Old Testament—as granted. They lived in it ; it had become part and parcel of themselves, and what they said can only be understood upon this supposition ; it must be looked upon as a new branch on the living tree of Judaism, and only thus can a correct meaning be gathered from many sentences[16]). It is scarcely necessary to emphasise that the two thousand years and more, during which Judaism developed, were productive not only of highways, but also of those by-ways which appear unavoidable in the march of human intellect, and that there were those who walked in them. " It is a duty to search, but it is not a sin to err " is a dictum pronounced a thousand years ago by the Karaite Benjamin ben Moses. The schools of Hillel and Shammai, existing before the Christian Era, showed the contrast of mildness and legal rigour. We find opposition to the Talmudical elaborations in the eighth century by Anan ben David, who founded the still existing sect of Karaites, (the Beni Mikra, the sons of the Scripture) ; by a one-sided argument he acknowledged the ancient Scriptures, as compiled by Ezra, as the only valid source of Judaism, in juxtaposition to the other scholars and their followers, the Rabbanites. A similar schism arose later between those

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narrow-minded men who accepted every particle of the Holy Writ literally, even to the application of anthropomorphitic symbols, and those who, with broader views, acknowledged as purely figurative and symbolic that which apparently had a spiritual meaning only—which latter conception was of course soon generally accepted. Among the Jews brute force never entered into question; it was in the schools and colleges that a peaceable battle for truth was fought, in which those arguments which were the most acute gained the victory; the vanquished side which generally represented individual views, yet contained some particle of truth, and thus frequently made its influence felt upon the further development of the subject under discussion. And one other point: in those parts of the Talmud, in which some teachers tried to explain the more stringent precepts and ordinations by philosophical essays, or poetical elaborations, by legend and poetry—the Hagada—we undoubtedly find fantastic excrescences or hostile disfigurements, caused by momentary excitement and for which sufficient reason frequently existed. But all this is of secondary importance, and in no way characterises the spirit pervading Jewish life.

The holy writings of the Old Testament naturally formed the basis of the studies of the Jewish savants. To understand these thoroughly was their first task. Most Christians will be inclined to believe that Biblical criticism is their work, and a product of latter days; if they will retrace their steps for about fifteen centuries they will get somewhat nearer to the cradle of this field of research. About the middle of the third century Simon ben Lakish decided that Job never existed, and was merely the product of imaginative poetry; and the nomenclature of the angels had been taken from a foreign nation, while the Jews were in exile.

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Of far greater consequence was Saadia Gaon, who lived in the ninth century. He placed reason above Bible and Talmud, and explained away many biblical miracles, for instance, the speaking serpent in Paradise, Balaam's ass, etc., etc. Saadia translated the Old Testament into Arabic, the language then most widely known. His contemporary, Chiwi of Balk, criticised the Bible from an atheistic and rationalistic point of view. At the commencement of the eleventh century Samuel ben Chofni characterised the Witch of Endor's doings and the speech-possessing character of Balaam's ass as dreams. In a similar way we hear how Jona Marinus (Abulwalid) was distinguishing himself; it was he who raised biblical criticism to the position of an independent science. About the same time there lived Ben Jasus (Jizchaki) who proved that the history of the Idumæan kings in Genesis, Ch. 36, verse 31 to 39, could neither have Moses as author, nor have originated in his time. Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote a clever commentary on Isaiah, about the middle of the twelfth century, and indicated therein the spurious character of the last 23 chapters, a fact now generally recognised.

Not less important were the Jews as exegetists of the Old Testament. Geiger correctly observes that the translation of a work is scarcely possible without exegesis[17]), and that the translator's exegetical views are expressed in his rendering, of which the Septuagint and Vulgate are clear proofs ; Saadia's translation of the Bible must therefore be called a truly important work.

But already before Saadia, the Karaites who believed literally in the Bible had produced important exegetical contributions. It was readily admitted by Rhabanus Maurus, the learned Prior of Fulda, in the Preface to his Commentary on

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the Holy Scriptures which appeared in the eighth century, that he learnt a great deal of exegesis from the Jews. Rabbi Ahron ben Mose ben Asher copied the Holy Writings, and corrected them according to Masoretic rules ; this volume is still in possession of the Karaites in Cairo. Salomon Jizchaki, generally known as Rashi, wrote a most excellent commentary on Bible and Talmud ; the biblical portion of it has been translated many times and has often been used by Christians. The Franciscan Monk, 18) Nicolaus de Lyra (1300 — 1340) specially used Rashi's simple und lucid exegesis, and introduced the same into his commentaries of the Old Testament (postillae) given to the Christian world, the effect of which made itself felt in Luther's time. Is was a saying in the days of the Reformation : ,,If Lyra had not played, Luther would not have danced." Still greater is the number of elaborators of Talmudic literature, which branch of study, next to Biblical research, engaged the attention of scholars. The Halacha, a continuation of the law put into terse sentences, had been first collected with a certain degree of completeness by Rabbi Akiba in the beginning of the second century, and it is this collection which is called the Mishna. How purely ideal the conception of the study of the Law was, is shewn even before Akiba by a dictum of Rabbi Zadock; ,,Use not the Thora as a crown to outward show, or as a spade to dig with."

The Talmud was doubly elaborated. First in Palestine, where Rabbi Meïr and Judah Hanassi brought the Mishna to a preliminary conclusion. Later some other authors added the Boraita, containing additional arguments and decisions. These two parts are written in Hebrew.

The Jews had always retained some connection with Babylon, and after the destruction of Jerusalem many betook themselves thither. It was here, after Rabbi Simlai had

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elaborated the Hagada in the fine spirit of philosophy, that the whole of the Talmud, Mishna and Gemara, the latter in Chaldaic, was completed by Rabbi Areka (165 — 247). The great preponderance which the Babylonian schools gained over those of poor oppressed Palestine, secured general recognition among the Jews for centuries for the Babylonian Talmud, which had been finally edited by Rabbi Ashi, Rabina and Rabbi Jose. Chasdai transplanted the study of the Babylonian Talmud early in the tenth century to Spain. It was not till the beginning of the eleventh century that the Palestine Talmud — Talmud Jerushalmi — became known in Spain, whither Rabbi Chananel and Rabbi Nissim brought it viâ Kairuan. At first the Talmud was learnt by heart, and thus transmitted from generation to generation. Only a few parts were written down, and it was not till about 550 that the whole of this great work was finally put into writing by Rabbi Giza and Rabbi Simuna. The Mishnaic Halachath, mostly of Spartan terseness, as well as the wildly fantastic poetry or the deeply hidden philosophical observations of the Hagada, were often very difficult to understand, and it became the work of subsequent professors to provide explanations. The first great Talmudical Commentary was written by Rabbi Gershom of Mayence in the tenth century, while his brother, Rabbi Machir, elaborated a dictionary for the more difficult portions of this work, entitled „Alpha-Betha." About the same time Samuel Halevi Ibn Nagrela in Granada, equally famous as scholar and poet, edited a large Commentary of the whole Talmud, which was soon followed by an equally excellent work on the same subject by Rabbi Salomon Jizchaki (Rashi) in France. We must conclude our notes on the Talmud by a reference to the man who above all represents the intellectual greatness of Judaism and the mental superiority of the Jews in comparison

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with all their comtemporaries, Mose ben Maimon (Maimonides). His first important work was an extremely clear and lucid Commentary of the Mishna, the Sirâdsch (illumination) which he published in Arabic 1168 in his thirty-third year. The most important preambles of the six divisions of this Commentary were collected at a later period, separately published, and frequently translated into Latin under the title „Porta Mosis". Maimonides, however, was not satisfied with his first work, and he afterwards wrote one of greater importance: the „Mishna Thora", called by latter day scholars „Jad-Hachasaka" (The Strong Hand), a term reminding us of Deutoronomy Ch. XXXIV verse 12. It is a gigantic work, containing a complete and very clear exposition of the entire contents of the Talmud in fourteen divisions. The whole of it, as well as several parts, were frequently translated into Latin. This magnum opus caused a great stir, obtained a very general influence and threatened to supersede Bible and Talmud; this might have had a very damaging effect upon Judaism, especially as Maimonides had ventured to set up thirteen articles of faith, which might easily have become fetters of dogmatism. These are some of the most prominent works on the subject of the Talmud; the whole of the literature dealing with the subject is immeasurable.

The first printed edition of the Talmud appeared in 1520; many others followed later, although frequently not at all reliable. Even now no carefully elaborated critical edition exists, although Renan's remark "on sait qu'il ne reste aucun manuscrit du Talmud pour controller les éditions imprimées" is undoubtedly a gross mistake,[19]) and an accurately critical edition would by no means be impossible.

As stated already, the Jews appear to possess a

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natural gift for languages, and this was undoubtedly developed in consequence of their dispersion, which compelled them to live amongst many nations, each speaking its own language. But more important than this was the seriousness with which they clung to their ethical and religious convictions and which prompted them to apply all their acuteness and perseverance to the study of the Oriental languages, in which the fundamentals of their creed were laid down, and to gain a perfect mastery of these idioms for their own use and to preserve them as a living heirloom for their successors. Without this the revival of intellectual activity of our times would have been as helpless with respect to Hebrew as the scholars at the beginning of the eighteenth century were in dealing with Hieroglyphics. Origen and a century later Jerome studied Hebrew with Jewish Rabbis in order to be able to understand the Old Testament; but with this all serious and thorough study on the part of the Christian clergy ceased. A pitiable Latin version sufficed, and frequently even this translation was unintelligible. It is nearly twelve centuries ago since the Jews laid down the foundation of that deeper and more accurate knowledge of language which we call Linguistics. Already in Saadia's time *Juda ben Koreish* pointed out that Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic were but three branches of one and the same linguistic stem, the characteristic features of which were mainly the same. Somewhat later *Dunash ben Labrat* simplified and corrected Menahem ben Saruk's dictionary of Hebrew Roots, while *Juda Chajug* (Abu Sakaria Jachia) recognised that the Hebrew root consisted of three letters. The original Hebrew letters had scarcely any signs for the vowels; it was therefore difficult to read Hebrew, and the people became estranged from this branch of knowledge. About the second half of the sixth century, certainly after 550, Assyrian scholars

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invented a system of signs for the vowels and marks for reading; these were placed above the letters, and the system was therefore called "superlinear." About the middle of the seventh century the Karaite, Mocha and his son, Moses, elaborated the Tiberian system, placing the vowel-signs below the letters; this is called "the Lower System," and is in use now. Its inventor earned for himself the title "Ha-Nakdan," *i.e.* "the Punctuator." This letter-and-vowel-sign system formed the most important part of the so-called Masorah. The Masoretic text of the Bible (*i.e.*, a text supplied with vowels and reading-marks) elaborated by Mose and Aaron ben Asher, formed the basis of all future copies of the Hebrew Old Testament. In the eleventh century, Jona Marinus (Abulwalid Ibn Ganach) wrote with equal thoroughness a complete Hebrew grammar and a dictionary, and both these works formed the basis of all subsequent study, and are still valuable. He was the first who raised exegetical research to the position of a methodical science. Nathan ben Jechiel is the author of a Talmudic dictionary, which, owing to the magnitude of its contents, is still used. Jewish authors wrote their books as often in Arabic as in Hebrew, but those who lived in Christian countries, not understanding Arabic, always provided Hebrew versions. Samuel Halevi Ibn Nagrela (993-1055) understood Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Berber, Castilian and Latin. Already at the time of the Visigoths, Jews wrote books against Christianity in excellent Latin[20]), and were justified in viewing with contempt the crude and ignorant Christians who lived among the Arabs and were called "Muzarabs"; they learned Arabic, but quickly forgot their Latin, and simultaneously the greater part of their religion. In the thirteenth century the famous Levi ben Gerson, called Ralbag, wrote his book "The Battles of the Lord" (Milchamot Adonai) into which he introduced his very

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keen examination of the origin of language, proving that language is an invention of man, which could not have been given to him by God or by the law of nature. Moses ben Ezra spoke Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Greek and Spanish. For the sake of brevity, I will only name the families of the Kimchis, Tibbon and Kalonymos, who, through several generations, gained fame as linguists and translators. We have the very valuable philological work of David Kimchi, being a grammar and a dictionary, and a grammar by Moses Kimchi.

If we regard the history of the Reformation with its consequent necessity to bring about a revival of a deep knowledge of the whole Bible in its original text, the conclusion is naturally forced on us : *Without Hebrew no Reformation; without Jews no Hebrew, for they were the only teachers of the language.*

While the rivalry of the Schools of Hillel and Shammai developed the mental and moral forces of the Jews at Jerusalem, their wealthy coreligionists who constituted the large community at Alexandria acquired Greek education and culture. Here Aristeas lived and wrote, here Philo flourished, and it was here that during the first half of the first century the third book of the Maccabaeans and the book of Wisdom were written. It was here even before the birth of Jesus that the Jewish Sibyllines, the Pseudophokylides,[21]) as well as the well-known polemical writings against paganism were composed, the Book of Esther, the Bel and Dragon of Babel, and the letter of Jeremias originated. If Philo has been misled through the Epigones of Greek philosophy to tread a wrong path, it was only growing Christianity which suffered with the Jews, as pure Monotheism had become part and parcel of the Jews and Jewish life for nearly eight hundred years.

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The impetus given to the philosophical treatment of the highest interests of humanity nevertheless emanated from Alexandria and developed slowly and gradually among a people which having lost its nationality turned its attention to spiritual research.

An acknowledgment of the intellectual importance of Judaism is undoubtedly expressed in the legend which proclaimed Aristotle first a student of Judaism and later a convert[22]). In the second century we hear of Rabbi Meir's philosophical studies; he maintained a confidential intercourse with Numenios, a philosopher of the Neoplatonic school. Already in the third century an attempt was made by Rabbi Simlai to treat the Hagada philosophically. In the ninth century Saadia ben Joseph, the Head of the Academy of Sura, commenced the philosophical treatment of the whole Jewish religions system. In his systematic work "Faith and Knowledge" (Emmunot we Deot) he places Reason as Arbiter above Bible and Talmud, and conceives Judaism to be a confirmation of the truth of reason, a divine revelation, to facilitate the comprehension of lesser gifted men. He rejected Teleology, because the conception of purpose cannot be applied to the Deity. He demanded that the words of the biblical writings should be accepted in their natural sense, if they do not contradict either each other or reason or actual facts.

His main principles have been maintained by Jewish scholars of our own time, and the learned Arabs held his work in high esteem[23]). Among the last professors at Pumbadita, Rabbi Hai (Hai Gaon) excelled. He was an energetic opponent of all and every mysticism, superstition, miracles and magic. He holds all this to be fable or fraud, or if practised in the name of the Deity, to be irreligious. His was a

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perfectly independent mind; he frequently consulted the Catholicos of the Oriental Christians at Bagdad, Max Elia I, about dubious biblical passages. When other Rabbis reproached him about this, he answered that, according to the Talmud, it is the duty of a Jew to accept the truth from any quarter whatever.

In the eleventh century we hear of the two great poets Gabirol and Juda Halevi, whose works were of lasting influence.

Salomo ben Jehuda Ibn Gabirol (1021-1070) as a poet rejuvenated and embellished the ancient Hebrew language. A sad early life had made him melancholy, and gave his poetry a serious character. As a youth already he had made himself acquainted with Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the philosophers of the Neoplatonic school and the Arabic philosophical scholars; guided by them he became the first independent thinker in Europe, since Justinian's brutality had ordered the closing of the philosophical schools at Athens, and Scotus Erigina (850) was practically forgotten[34]). Gabirol's principal work was the "Mekor Chajim" ("Source of Life"); the original was written in Arabic. It was translated into Latin by a Christian priest under the pseudonym "Avicebron," and at a later period a Jew translated it into Hebrew[35]). The wisdom contained in this book was utilized by many, among others by William Auvergne, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus[36]).

Abulhassan Jeduha ben Samuel Halevi (1086-1142)[37]) was a poet in the noblest sense of the word, an excellent physician, and one who glorified Judaism. From a philosophical point of view, his Magnum Opus is the thoughtful dialogue "Chozari" (Cosri). He knew and utilized Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, without however thoroughly comprehending

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them. He could not get beyond the faulty mode of the working methods of earlier times, and therefore committed the regrettable mistake : that of basing the truth of religious conviction upon matters of fact. Yet, in spite of this, he rises to high conceptions. In contradistinction to Christianity, he derives from Adam the principle of hereditary and original *virtue*; and he rejects asceticism as immoral. However poetical and inspired the whole of his conception was, exercising an important influence upon subsequent Jewish literature, its actual effect is seen more clearly in those writings which show mystical tendencies.

The culminating point in the philosophical development of the Jews was reached in the twelfth century. I will first mention the "Sohar", whose authorship and date of origin are not yet accurately fixed. Speaking generally, people form a wrong idea of the Kabbala, having in view only its unedifying parts. The hopeless endeavours of the Church during the Middle Ages — particularly on the part of the scholastics — were to realize the dream of a "Man God", to amalgamate and even to identify the pure spirituality of religious Judaism with the unmixed sensualism of a religious paganism. At times Judaism was affected by contact with that school which desired to accept literally the unavoidably materialistic language of the Prophets when it referred to the Deity, and thus looked upon God in an anthropomorphic sense. This was done in the Kabbala. The Sohar, belonging to this school, and being its chief literary exponent, gives us quite a different opinion as to its merits from that usually held. Geiger's criticisms are, I am afraid, too severe. Frank in his work on the Kabbala, has shed a better light on many points[28]). It is also necessary to compare Graetz's "History of the Jews"[29]). The Sohar lifts the freedom of thought

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above dogma and Scripture. The unity and immateriality of God, the Immortality of the Souls, the freedom of individual will are the commanding features of the Sohar and give a higher importance to this work.

During the same century Joseph ben Zadik Ibn Zadik wrote a volume on logic. Simultaneous with this we note Abraham Ibn Dand's work: "The Highest Faith." The contents of this book are shortly expressed in the following sentence: "The aim of all philosophical theory is the practical realization of all moral purposes, and this is the essence of Judaism." Never has philosophy uttered anything higher; it is exactly the same which seven hundred years later was called by Fries "the cardinal principle of practical reason" (Primat der praktischen Vernunft). This may suffice here. I pass over hundreds of philosophers whose names have come down to us, in order to speak again of Maimonides, the greatest mind which Europe produced during the twelfth century.

Abu Amran Musa ben Abdallah, or Moses ben Maimon (1135-1205).—The details of this great man's life are only imperfectly known, and frequently veiled in legendary uncertainty, but this is what we do know of him: his life was a blamelessly moral one, characterized by true nobility of soul. His father, holding a high position at Cordova, was a mathematician, astronomer, and Talmudist, who inspired love for study and knowledge into his son at an early age. Exiled by the fanatical Almohades, the family led an irregular life of travel. Maimonides learned all that his father could teach him; Mahometan teachers initiated him into the study of natural science and medical knowledge. The mistaken notion that Maimonides was a pupil of Averroes in philosophy has long been cleared up.[80]) Maimonides stood entirely on

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the basis of Judaism and those Greek scholars who laid the foundation of all philosophical study. He particularly followed Aristotle but quite independently, frequently differing from him and contradicting him. He also studied and utilized Socrates. Xenophon, Plato, the Stoics, the Peripatetic Alexander of Aphrodisias, and the Eclectic Themistius. His time, his surroundings, and the heavily oppressed Judaism of his day, limited him in many ways ; no one, however, will reproach him for this, as nobody could have freed himself from such powerful influences. He stands, however, in a free position in comparison with many Rabbis, when he declares : "They find a hundred things in the Holy Scripture which were never originally thought of." His great philosophical work was the More Ha Nebuchim ("Guide of the Perplexed.") He himself criticises this work in the following words : "In short, this is my nature, if a thought forces itself on my mind, and I can give expression to it in such a manner only that it satisfies and assists *one* amongst ten thousand, *that one* a *thinker*, while it appears unbearable to the masses, I speak that word boldly and openly as it conveys a light to the man of reason, even if the unreasonable multitude blames me." And he pleased the thinker and exercised a powerful influence over the further study of philosophy. Scaliger says : "The Guide of the Perplexed" cannot be sufficiently praised ;" and Casaubonus mentions Maimonides in these words of praise : "He treats religiously matters of religion, philosophically all that appertains to philosophy, and divinely all that is Godly." This shows how those who lived soon after Maimonides conceived him and his work. His guiding principle was : "Man shall not allow his actions to be influenced by the faith coming from authority. Never turn your back from clearer knowledge, we have our eyes in front and not behind us. The purpose of religion is to

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think and act in harmony with reason, in order to approach perfection." In both these dicta he stands high above Christian scholasticism which really rests upon the basis founded by him.[81]) "The More Ha Nebuchim" has been translated innumerable times into Latin, German, Spanish, English, etc. How greatly Spinoza depended on Maimonides, has been proved by Joel quite clearly[82]).

Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas are so deeply rooted on Gabirol and Maimonides, that neither of them can be imagined without these two predecessors. We therefore may again put the conclusion in the following form :—

Without Judaism no Scholastics, and *without Scholasticism no progress in Philosophy.*

After Maimonides' death violent differences arose in Jewry as to the value and orthodoxy of his teachings, and he was often excommunicated. Various circumstances and details accompanying these acts of excommunication have frequently been used in the most foolish manner against Judaism, of which no one ever took the trouble to obtain a thorough knowledge. In spiritual fights a one-sided party judgment has no value except that it characterises the party ; it is the final result of the fight, the prize of victory which tells ; in this instance it was the general recognition of Maimonides' greatness, and the vigorous progress on the lines marked out by him leading to a pure piety, strict morality, and a high degree of intellectual freedom.

I must now name two men who lived after Maimonides. I will first mention one of his most energetic adherents, defenders, and followers, Levi ben Gerson (Ralbag), who may essentially be called a successor of Maimonides ; his principal work, of which mention has already been made, "Milchamoth," caused a great stir among the Jews, and

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received honourable notice by such Christian scholars as Picus of Mirandola, Reuchlin, and Kepler. The other philosopher whom I will name is Chasdai Crescas. Although in many respects a justified opponent of Maimonides, he deserves our attention, as he was the first who entered the arena against Aristotle and his authority, and who combated with great acumen, in his book "Or Adonai" (The Light of God), Aristotle's views on the Universe and his "physics." This happened in 1410, considerably before any Christian scholar ventured to protest against the sway which faith in Aristotle had so long held.[84]) We may therefore repeat in matters philosophical, what we stated above: *Without Judaism no Scholastics or progress, and therefore no advancement of philosophy.* So far as philosophy is concerned, I am now at the end of the path I intended to tread. I will only mention another name, that of Isaac ben Moses Halevi, known as Prophiat Duran, who lived about 1450, who in a letter to a converted Jew whose desire it was to convert him, dealt with the whole of Christianity in the most sarcastic manner imaginable.

I will now pass on to Ethics, a philosophical discipline, which occupied a high position in Judaism, as it contained so to speak the only form of divine teaching which remained possible to the Jews after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. I will mention a point which connects Ethics with the philosophy of Religion, *i.e.* Tolerance. Genuine tolerance is the practical outcome of that inward nobility which treats all men humanely and kindly, regardless of creed. It is well known that Christians even to-day do not occupy a very praiseworthy position in this respect, and this fact alone contradicts the assertion that the principle of universal love is a Christian possession. It is exactly the opposite with the Jews. They were never desirous of making

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converts, and as a matter of fact put the greatest possible obstacles in the way of conversion. A learned Rabbi once said: "Distrust every proselyte to the tenth generation." Rabbi Abaja Nachmani, who lived in the fourth century, used as his motto: "Live in peace with your brothers and relatives, with all the world, even with the pagans beyond your gates," and ever since then the Jews knew no difference between members of their own community and those professing another faith; and it was only Rabbis of isolated schools attempted to prove their pure orthodoxy at times, an instance of this being the powerless excommunication pronounced against Maimonides. It was not the Jews who objected to mix with pagans and Christians, or to maintain social relations with them, to meet at meals or banquets—it was the result of prohibition by the Christian clergy. In the tenth century a Jew wrote an anonymous work, in which he teaches benevolence, kindness, and justice, to all those who profess another faith, and threatens damnation to those who disregard these principles. At a time when the most atrocious persecutions of the Jews were the order of the day in Spain, France and Germany, a French Jew, Jehuda Sir Leon ben Isaac (called Ha-Chasid, "the pious") wrote instructions for a higher religious life, which ran as follows: "*You shall treat with equal honesty the Christian as your brother in faith; if he (the Christian) makes a mistake to his loss, it is your duty to call his attention to it; if the Jew is a taxgatherer, he shall demand no more from the Christian than from the Jew; a Jew shall not adopt untruthful excuses in his traffic either with Jew or Gentile,*" *(contrasting with the publicly pronounced principle of the Christian Church: "One need not keep faith in dealing with heretics") ; a Jew shall not even say to an intending borrower, not very secure, that he has no money.*" *Never rob a Christian, God helps all who are oppressed, etc.*

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I think that this suffices to show the ridiculous nature of many spiteful prejudices against the Jews. Referring to Ethics definitely: I desire to point out that the observation of the moral law was the first and almost only duty to God, the real divine service; and if we pass to views of isolated teachers, we come to the conclusion, that the Jews deemed the principle of the whole ethical law to be the innate striving towards perfection, a striving which we have to follow; one cannot conceive a purer, a more unselfish motive. Never has a thought of greater ethical importance been uttered than that of Ben Asai (about the middle of the second century) which runs thus: "Every good action draws another of the same kind after it, and the reward of virtue is virtue itself"[85]) As morality was a religious duty of the Jews, no teacher could very well exist, who did not touch upon ethical questions, treating these with lesser or greater thoroughness. I think it, therefore, sufficient to mention here a few distinguished names, the owners of which exercised an influence of some lasting weight and duration. Primarily and above all we must again mention Hillel and Shammai, whose morality and benevolence stand out high beyond any shadow of question. Shammai differs from his famous contemporary by greater exactitude in the legal arguments for or against various prescripts. On the other hand, we deem Hillel of greater importance, whose whole teaching was a school of purity of morals and love, in which the best which Jesus could teach was already contained. At this early period we ought to mention the apocryphal *Book of Wisdom* which originated at Alexandria during the reign of Caligula, the authorship of which has been wrongly attributed to Philo. This book is a polemical publication against the immorality and paganism of the day. A similar object was followed by the Jewish author who wrote ander the name of the Pseudophokylides,

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who recommends the pure Jewish moral doctrine to the Greeks[26]).

I must not omit to mention the Patriarch Rabbi Simon who lived in the second century, and from whom the following maxim has come down to us: "The existence of the world is based upon three principles, truth, justice and peace". Of considerable importance in the third century was the activity of Rabbi Mar Samuel. Jeremiah, the prophet of old, had already exhorted the Jews in the following words: "Seek the welfare of the country whither ye have been carried captive." Rabbi Samuel raised this principle to a law, binding upon all, thus laying it down that the law of the land, in which Jews reside is as binding on them as their own. Thus do the Jews stand in this respect high above our Roman Catholic bishops.

The principles here enunciated have been accepted by Jews everywhere, and have always been faithfully adhered to.

I am now passing over a considerable period in order to speak of Rabbi Gershom ben Jehuda, who exercised a most beneficial effect on Judaism. Judaism, according to its innermost spirit, accepts Monogamy in principle, but had not formally prohibited polygamy. Rabbi Gershom stepped in here, and took pains to obtain the formal sanction of a law to this effect by a Synod. Ever since then Monogamy has been upheld by the Jews. A very pleasing impression is obtained by the perusal of the very many poems, which testify to the happy relations existing between husband and wife; a particular species of these being the wedding poems, in which Jehuda Halevi specially excelled, and which praise the high dignity and sacred nature of wedded life. These writers were soon followed by Rabbi Hai who lived in the eleventh century, who laid down a proof of his own noble morality in his

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didactic poem "Mussur Haskel", which has been translated into Latin, and saw many editions[87]). In the same century lived Rabbi Bachija ben Joseph Ibn Bakuda who treated in his book "Choboth Halebabot" (Duties of the heart) the relation of the Higher to the Ceremonial laws, showing the much greater importance of the former and the relative insignificance of the latter. He was a pietist in the best sense of the term, and strongly inclined towards asceticism. This latter mode of life received energetic opposition in the following century from Jehuda Sir Leon ben Isaac. He condemns every separation from general human intercourse and every kind of monastic effort as immoral. With regard to prayer he says that is has a real value only if spoken in one's mother tongue, but leaves the heart void when uttered in any foreign language. I cannot conclude this part of my observations without again speaking of Maimonides, who here deserves an honourable mention. He develops systematically and philosophically—principally on Aristotelean lines—Jewish Ethics in several portions of his Mishna Commentary and in the "More Ha Nebuchim"[88]).

The foregoing brings me to the field of Jurisprudence, as there scarcely existed a difference in the conception of moral duty and legal obligation with the Jews[89]). A few supplementary remarks to the preceding statements will be all that is necessary. Rabbi Simlai and Rabbi Samuel have been mentioned elsewhere. Rabbi Hai wrote a book in Arabic on the Commercial Law of the Talmud, which at a later period was translated into Hebrew. In the twelfth century Rabbi Isaac Halevi excelled as a teacher of Civil Law. In the south of France it was generally acknowledged that the Jewish laws were better than the Christian ones[40]), a view which was never disproved, although it was condemned as

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heresy[41]). The most important novel institution, which owes its existence to the Jews and which exercised an essentially reforming influence upon the meagre and narrow Roman Law, was the invention of Bills of Exchange and letters of credit, which gave a considerable extension and greater elasticity to wholesale trading generally. When, under Philip II., the looting of the property and burning of the houses and stores of the Jews which had taken place during Augustus' reign was renewed, the Jews were enabled by means of the newly invented Bills of Exchange to save at least part of their property from the hands of the Christian foot-pads and highway-men. The Jews considered it further a moral duty to attend to public hygiene as well as the preservation of individual bodily health by means of a suitable diet, careful nursing, and general medical treatment of the sick[42]).

This explains how the majority of the Rabbis were well acquainted with medical knowledge devoting themselves to the practice of medicine. How conscientiously the medical vocation was regarded by Jews, is illustrated by the beautiful prayer composed by Maimonides to be offered up by a physician who is about to visit a patient[43]). We may say that until the medical schools of Montpelier and Salerno[44]), principally founded by Jews, were established, the Jews were almost the only physicians in existence, these were later on followed by Arabs in Spain, until the latter were driven out of that country when the Jews regained their position as sole representatives of medical science. The incomprehensibly ignorant and crude Christians of that period held the superstitious belief that Jews were the only ones whom nature had endowed with medical knowledge. Princes and dignitaries of the Church who robbed and drove away the Jews in the most outrageous manner, obstinately refused to avail themselves of the services of a Christian body-physician, including even

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baptized Jews! An instance of this was Francis 1 of France. There was a time in which the Jews as body-physicians to all princes and prelates held the lives of these men in their hands. Until the sixteenth century the most famous physicians were, to a preponderant extent, Jews. It will suffice, if I name here some of the most distinguished physicians, as the importance of the Jews in this branch of knowledge has scarcely been doubted. Already in the third century we find Rabbi Mar Samuel (died 257). He attributed most diseases to the influence of impure air, and ascribed the great mortality of those who were wounded on the battle-field to their lengthy exposure. Farragut was famous as translator, and as body-physician to Charlemagne[46]). About the end of the ninth century Isaac ben Suleiman Israeli, in addition to other works, wrote an Arabic book on Fevers, which was quickly tranlated into Hebrew, Spanish and Latin. About the same time Rabbi Mashalla and Rabbi Abul Barkat enjoyed a great reputation in the East; they lived during the reign of the Kaliph Almanun. In the third century, Abraham Cabrit elaborated a commentary on Hippokrates. A medical teacher of great fame was Rabbi Profatius who lived at Montpelier about 1300. Maimonides elaborated Galenus, wrote medical Aphorisms, and was called to fill the position of body-physician to Richard Coeur de Lion, a post he did not accept. I will here mention another Jewish doctor only on account of his name: Pierre de Nostra Dona, who in the fifteenth century was appointed physician to the town of Artes. He was the progenitor of Nostradamus of latter day ill-fame. Even in the sixteenth century Jews were the most famous physicians, prominently Judas Abrabanel Filius, Zakut Filius, Porta de Leon, Abram de Batmis, David de Pomis, and many others. Until the end of the seventeenth century, no separating line between medicine and

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natural science was known; the two branches which freed themselves at an early period from this connection were astronomy and mathematics. Therefore all medical men of the period were students of natural science; and it will scarcely be necessary to emphasize any particular names.

I will now refer to a few famous travellers, Petachiah of Regensburgh, Eldad the Danite, whose book on travel was translated into Latin, and above all Benjamin of Tudela (travelling from 1165 till 1173) who journeyed through nearly the whole of the known world. The description of his journey "Masoet Benjamin" (iter Benjaminum) has not only been frequently translated into Latin, but versions of this work have appeared in nearly every modern European language. In addition to this, Jews took a prominent part in the discovery of the East Indies through Abraham de Behia and Joseph Zapatero de Lamego, who had been dispatched by Juan II to explore the coast of the Red Sea and the Island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf[46]).

Let me next advert to the merit of the Jews in connection with astronomy. They possessed their own calendar at an early period; to regulate this, and to fix correctly the exact dates of their festivals, they were obliged to study astronomy[47]). The knowledge of the stars and the heavens was considered an active source of the recognition of God and a means of devotion, which is shown in many Talmudical passages, and later on in the writings of Maimonides[48]).

That the Jews exacted an early and great influence on the development of mathematics, at least of arithmetic, is clearly indicated by the circumstance that of the ten names of numerals mentioned by *Bonthius* four are of Hebrew origin, and the *Abacus* (or counting-board) also springs from a Hebrew source[48a]). One of the successors of Hillel, Gamaliel is mentioned as mathematician and astronomer; he is sup-

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posed to have used a telescope, of course without glasses. In the year 89 (period of the revolution) Jehoshuah already knew of the appearance of Halley's Comet every 70 or 73 years[49*]. Mar Samuel is the author of a Boraita dealing with the celestial system, the sun, moon, stars and stellar configurations; and he further touches upon the causes of the changes of seasons; he is indeed the author of a special work on the seasons, which is still existing in the vatican[50]). It is important to mention that this eminent scholar viewed astrology with decided contempt. For a considerable time the calculations of the calendar were subject to many old-fashioned formalities and kept secret by the Sanhedrin, until the patriarch Hillel II made them public; these calculations agree so exactly with the Cycle of Meton[51]) that they have maintained their value to the present day. How much of this calculatory method belongs to Hillel personnally can no longer be fixed. Even previous to Mahomet this calendary calculation was taught to the Arabs by the Jewish Academy of Jathrib.

About the year 800 Rabbi Sahal al Tabari (called Rabban) gained a great reputation as mathematician and astronomer; he translated Ptolemy into Arabic and discovered the refraction of light[52]). Rabbi Abusahal Dunash ben Tammim, the eminent physician and medical adviser of the third Fatimidic Caliph, and famous as an astronomer, was one of the first who used the newly introduced system of Arabic numerals. Rabbi Abraham ben Chija (Albargeloni), who lived about the same time, was the author of several astronomical works which were translated into Latin and frequently consulted. We possess an explicit and thorough refutation

(* According to the most recent authorities (and therefore the best, by reason of the great improvements in astronomical instruments) the average period of revolution of Halley's Comet is 76.4 years.)

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of the astrological superstition by Maimonides, which however did not lead to the enlightenment of Christian clerics and princes.

A very eminent mathematician of the twelfth century was evidently John of Sevilla (or de Luna). He wrote a work on practical arithmetic, in which for the first time calculations with decimal fractions, probably his own invention, were used.

Coming to the thirteenth century, I need only name the already mentioned book the "Sohar"; the rotation of the earth round its axis being the cause of day and night, is taught in the "Sohar" long before Copernicus. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Alphonse X., known as the "Wise" ascended the throne of Castile. He possessed a great passion for astronomy which he emphasized by ordering new astronomical tables, known as the "Alphonsine Tables" which were in use for a long time by astronomers; he entrusted this enterprise to the Jewish astronomer Rabbi Isaac ben Sid. Rabbi Judas ben Hakohen at the same time translated into Spanish for this monarch the astronomical works of Avicenna. And to this scholar is also ascribed the division of the whole stellar system into 48 stellar configurations. Under Alphonse XI., Rabbis David Audrahan, Isaac ben Samuel ben Israel and Jacob ben Meïr Ibn Tibbon are praised as authors of astronomical tables, and Profatius, one of the most famous professors of medicine at the academy of Montpellier, likewise distinguished himself as an astronomer[53]). I must specially mention Levi ben Gerson ("Ralbag"), better known as Magister Leo de Bagnolas, who possessed a famous reputation as an astronomer. His description of an astronomical instrument invented by him was, at the special request of Pope Clemens VI., translated into Latin, and Kepler tried very hard to obtain a copy of this work.[54])

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The preceding data should sufficiently prove that the Jews until the thirteenth century were infinitely superior to their Christian contemporaries both in their general intellectual endowments and their practical pursuits in applied science. That this superiority was acknowledged by their contemporaries may be inferred from the fact that they served not only as body physicians to the spiritual and temporal princes and magnates, but that they frequently even directed the affairs of the states in which they lived, either by their influence or by virtue of the official positions to which they were appointed. Their moral integrity, their mental elasticity, and their rich knowledge frequently led them to the highest posts among Pagans, Moslems and Christians. Already under the Ptolemies, the chiefs of the Egyptian academies Onias and Dositeus enjoyed great influence at court. Philo was sent to Rome as the ambassador of his community. The Jews were highly respected and held influential positions under the first Roman Emperors, which is proved by many laws favouring them. Rabbi Jehosuhah was greatly esteemed by Hadrian, and Rabbi Abahu by Diocletian. That Justinian respected Jews as agriculturists is shown by the 144th Novella of his code of laws. The Heads of the Jewish Academies of Babylon were nearly always politically important, particularly under the better class of Persian kings. The Jews enjoyed considerable influence with the Arabs under Mahomet, who commenced to persecute them as soon as he considered himself powerful enough to do without them. Two learned Jews, Abdallah Ibn Salam and Mukchairik assisted him materially in the elaboration of the Koran.

Tuariks' conquest of Spain freed the Jews from the very brutal Visigoths. Suwair became master of the mint of Abdul Malik. Charlemagne held Rabbi Isaac in such high es-

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teem, that he sent him as his envoy to Harun Alrashid. He caused the scholarly family Kalonymos to settle in Mayence, Germany. Zedekias was body-physician to Charles the Bald, and Rabbi Judah was the special favourite of this Emperor. Isaac ben Suleiman Israeli in Kairuan was a favourite of Prince Ziadeth Allah, and later confidential counsellor of Ubaid Allah, the founder of the Fatimidic dynasty. Sabbatai Donolo was body-physician to the Byzantine Viceroy Euprarios. A high position was held (915 to 970) by Rabbi Abu Jussuf Chasdai ben Isaac Ibn Shaprut, who was ambassador and afterwards Foreign Minister to the Caliph Abdulrahman III. Jekutiel Ibn Hassan held a position of great influence in Saragossa, and became protector of Gabirol. Habus, Caliph of Granada, appointed Samuel Halevi Ibn Nagrela as Vizier, and his son, Abu Hussein Joseph Ibn Nagrela, succeeded him in this onerous post. Joseph Ibn Migash, the 1st, held a post of high honour at the court of Almuthadid of Sevilla, and Abu Fadl Chasdai was Vizier to King Amuktadir of Saragossa. The example of the Arab Princes was emulated by the Christian Kings of Spain; the Jews occupied high positions everywhere, among others Salomon ben Virga. Owing to his skill in statecraft, Amram ben Isaac Ibn Shalbib was greatly esteemed by Alphonse VI. of Castile, and a similar position was accorded to Cidellus. In the twelfth century Abraham ben Chija Albergeloni was an official at the Castilian Court. The Jews retained their influence under Alphonse VIII. of Toledo and Alphonse II. of Arragon. Jews were especially appointed as the highest financial administrators, as they were skilful and honest men of business, the grandees of the land preferred to be served by the Jews rather than to be cheated and robbed by orthodox fools. Even Pope Alexander III. had a Jewish Minister of Finance, Rabbi Jechiel ben Abraham. As late as the fifteenth

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century, Alphonse V. of Portugal had a Jewish minister, the learned Rabbi Isaac Abravanel, who, after the King's death, was exiled on the occasion of a general persecution of the Jews, and was received by Ferdinand of Castile who appointed him as his Minister of Finance. He remained here about eight years ; and while Ferdinand required money to carry on the war against the Moors, Abravanel received the greatest marks of honour. Barely free from his fear of the Moors, Ferdinand and his fanatic consort—in obedience to the law of the church : " One need not keep faith to the heretic "—attacked the Jews and tried to rob them of their property. Once more these two crowned slaves of Popery bartered their Christian duty to their Moloch-deity for 34,000 ducats. In spite of this bargain, Torquemada, the principal Moloch-priest, succeeded in enforcing the murder, looting, and driving into exile of the Jews, whose only misfortune it was to be purer and more pious than their abominable persecutors. Abravanel succeeded in escaping to Naples, where Alphonse V. received him again most favourably. As Alphonse soon afterwards was driven out by Charles VIII., Abravanel accompanied his protector to Venice, thus demonstrating his unshakable fidelity. He gained great influence with the Government of the Republic, and a treaty respecting the trade in spices with Portugal, equally favourable to both contracting parties, put a brilliant and honourable termination to his long diplomatic career[55]). Abravanel was also an active author; his exegetic and philosophical writings demonstrate considerable knowledge and acumen combined with great freedom of thought. More important are perhaps his political essays, in which he illustrates his opinions by examples taken from ancient and modern history.

Even the science of history was first cultivated by the authors of the Maccabæan Books and by Josephus ; and at a

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time when the whole of Europe had nothing but childish Byzantine Court tales, collections of stupid convent yarns or some poorly composed reminiscences of pagan life, Rabbi Abraham Ibn Daud wrote a Jewish history brought up to his own time (1150), and became the author of a history of Rome from Romulus to the Visigoth Recared.

The men whom I have named here as statesmen are only a few of the best and greatest Jews, and their services were required everywhere, for they were undoubtedly the best of their time.

The intellectual life of the Jews, which I have so far endeavoured to describe, refers principally to the domain of knowledge; it is the religious aspect which opens up the vista of faith, and we have seen that the standard the Jews took up in this respect was one of loftiness and purity.

It only remains for us to refer to the imaginative faculty (which borders closely on belief) among the Jews, which in a measure realises religious ideas and gives them a living force in æsthetic form. It has often been asserted that Jews are devoid of artistic gifts, an assertion entirely wrong. That all art originally develops from religious ideas and their symbolic representation is certain; it is on this account that the Jews who believed in a purely spiritual God, were precluded from representing their Deity in any material visible form, and the effect of this was that they remained strangers to the plastic and pictorial arts[66]). How high the early development of religious poetry was, every Christian knows who has ever read a psalm or who has listened to an oratorio or a cantata, based as they all are upon the poetical compositions of the Jews. It will be difficult to find anything in the entire literature of all nations from the beginning to

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the Christian era which will compare with the religious poetry of the Jews in simple grandeur, in elevation of thought, and in touching, yet dignified language. Has not the Christian Church raised even the love-poem of the Jews (the Song of Songs) on account of its exalted language to the rank of religious poetry, an opinion which was pronounced in the second century by Rabbi Akiba.

The Jews were not long satisfied with a mere perusal of the older poetry collected by Ezra, for we find evidences of new poetic activity. The driving into exile of the Jews made them acquainted with the charm and refinement of the Arabic language, and this reflected beneficially upon Hebrew, which, at that period commenced to adopt greater elasticity and nobility of form. We notice a further perfecting of the poetical development among the Spanish Jews, who occupied in every respect a highly intellectual standard. The number: of poets whom one could enumerate is very considerable; I will mention only those of the greatest importance: Nagrela, Gabirol, Chasdai, Charisi, Mose Ibn Ezra, Jehuda Halevi and others are names ever deserving great praise. Jehuda Halevi occupies an exceptionally high place; the whole religious poetry knows nothing of greater value (not excepting Milton and Klopstock) than his "Elegy of Zion." But Jewish poetry was not restricted to religious subjects. That which forms the transition from religious to worldly subjects is the gnomic poetry, in which Nagrela excelled in the eleventh century. The sweet Jewish poem of Jussuf and Suleika which was received in the Koran, forms a border-line between poetry religious and mundane.

One of the most distinguished linguists of the twelfth century, Alcharisi, translated the "Makames" of Hariri with which German readers became quite familiar through

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Rueckert's version. Alcharisi's translation of Hariri's work impelled him to compose a similar poetical work in Hebrew, the "Tachkemoni."[57] As authors of secular poetry Mose Ibn Ezra Alcharisi and Manuela destinguished themselves, and the last-named, Manuela[58]) might well be called a first "Heinrich Heine." Jewish poetry is particularly rich in fables, a form of didactic poem peculiar to the East. Already during the second century Rabbi Meïr elaborated three hundred fables treating of the fox; many centuries later, about 1269 we hear of Berachja ben Natronai ha Nakdan being prolific in this direction, and Lafontaine adapted many of his fables[59]). Among the German Minstrels of the twelfth century we find Sueskind of Trimberg[60]). Two German poets intended writing a sequel to Manessier's French poem which was based on Wolfram von Eschenbach's "Parcival," but they understood no French. A Jew knowing this language helped them; and they conclude their work with the following verse:

"A Jew called Samson Pnie
"Much time and pains took he,
"To study this adventurous tale
"And help us much with our travail;
"The French he turned to German lines,
"And we put all these into rhymes."

A very important poet was Manuelo (Immanuel ben Salomon) whom I have mentioned already; he may be called a precursor of Boccacio, and he belonged to Dante's circle of intimate friends. I don't know whether Jews have ever complained about learned and famous women, as Schiller did, although there were certainly women of note. At the time of the Tanaim, Berurja was a woman famous for her

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scholarship. During the twelfth century a beautiful Oriental Jewess lectured on Talmudical subjects, and the daughter of Rabbi Meïr (Granddaughter of the famous Rashi) wrote several learned books. Many women are mentioned in connection with the Spanish School of Poets, Donna Isabella Correa, Donna Sarah de Jonseca, Donna Isabella Enriquez and many others[61]). As many beautiful wedding-songs were chanted, and as songs were introduced as part of the Synagogal services at an early period, the Jews must have preserved their musical attainments which are so often mentioned in the Old Testament. In the eleventh century Jacob ben Jakar is spoken of as a musical author and during the fifteenth century Arkevolte wrote a spirited work on the same subject which in the views which it expresses reminds us frequently and distinctly of Thiebaut's " Purity of the Art of Music."

I have shown, how during the whole of the Middle Ages, while all European Nations stood still or retrograded, or, like the Germanic People, had scarcely advanced at all, the Jews stepped forward energetically on the path of mental progress, and developed every side of scientific life, and how much of their acquisitions had been transferred to the various nations who were commencing a new intellectual life by the end of the Middle Ages.

But the Jews have an additional great merit. At the time when the Western Nations began to look longingly towards the valuable results of the old intellectual culture, the Jews had to step forward and act as interpreters, as the ignorant Christians of the period did not understand the languages in which the spirit of the old world had communicated its gifts. Had the Jews not done good work as translators, the darkness of mediaeval life would not have been lifted

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from us for a long time. The first people who developed a fresh and intellectual life after the night of the migrations of the nations and the wild orgies following in their wake, were tho Moorish Arabs, and they were solely indebted to the Jews who interpreted Greek literature to them. A Jew — Aristobulos — was primarily instrumental in bringing about the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, the so called Septuagint, and his grandson, bearing the same name, translated the Book of Jesus Sirach into the same language. In the second century Akylas translated the Thora into Greek, in the fourth century appeared a Chaldaic translation — Targum Onkelos—preceded by a Syriac version, the so called Peshito. About the middle of the seventh century a medical work by the Presbyter Ahron was translated from Syriac into Arabic by Messer Gaivaich[62]). During the ninth century Rabban (Sahal al Tabari) translated Ptolemy's great work into Arabic, and Saadia ben Joseph (Saadia Gaon) translated the Old Testament into the same language. About the end of the tenth century Rabbi Joseph Ibn Abitur completed his great work, an Arabic version of the Mishna, which translation had been undertaken at the special request of the Caliph Alhakem II. The famous Chasdai conveyed Dioskorides' work on Therapeutics as a present of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII to Spain; a Greek monk translated this valuable work into Latin, from which Chasdai made a translation into Arabic.

We have now reached a period where the literature becomes so prolific and the publications so numerous, that we can scarcely point out isolated names. Whole families participate for several generations in literary work: amongst others we mention the Tibbonides who translated Averroes and Aristotle into Latin, thus making these works intelligible

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to the Western World. Moses Ibn Tibbon gave us the most excellent translation of Euclid. The family of the Kalonymides occupies an equally distinguished position [64]). They were favoured by the especial esteem and patronage of the Emperor Frederick II of Germany, and a similar position was enjoyed by Jacob Anatoli [65]), well-known as a translator. Last but not least, we should mention the famous French family of the Kimchis.

To resume our retrospect: we find that during the intellectually dark and slothful Middle Ages, the Jews were the preservers of agriculture, of all large industries, the cultivation of silk, dying and weaving works. It was they who carried on an international trade which was and ever will be necessary to the well-being of all nations. We have seen that the Jews left no branch of science or learning untouched, ever searching and developing, and at the end of the Middle Ages handing over the results of their long and arduous labours to the nations who were only then commencing to wake up. They are the founders of systematic philology; they, in contrast with the narrow-mindedness and ignorance of the Christian clergy, are the only people who possessed a penetrating and fruitful knowledge of Holy Writ, as they stood alone for many centuries in their knowledge of the languages of the Orient (partly even of Greek) and the tongues of the West; they were furthermore the only people who freely developed the study of philosophy, and more especially that part of philosophy relating to religious problems, while they cultivated with greater thoroughness than any other nation the field of Ethics and practical morality. We find again that it was a special object of research with the Jews to elaborate a methodical and scientific study of medicine; they participated actively in the progress of

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Astronomy; they founded the great medical faculties of Salerno and Montpelier, and contributed materially to the flourishing condition of the University of Padua. A few years after the invention of the art of printing, the Jews established printing works in many towns.

In his "Memorias de Litteratura Portuguesa," Ribeyra de Santos remarks justly:

> "We are largely indebted to the Jews for our first knowledge of philosophy, botany, medicine, astronomy, cosmography, no less than for the elements of grammar, the sacred languages, and almost all branches of biblical study."

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Appendix.

1.—Boudin, Traité de Géographie et de Statist-medicales, Tom II., page 137. Paris, 1857. E. von Hecker, Augsburg, Allgemeine Zeitung. April 12th, 1897, page 1,559.

2.—S. Salvador, Histoire de la Domination Romaine et de la Ruine de Jérusalem, Tom II. Paris, 1847.

3.—Concilium Toletanum, XVIII.

4.—Herodotus I., 1; II., 5; III., 5. Genesis XLIX., 13. Judges V., 17.

5.—Dr. K. E. von Baer, Reden und Aufsätze, Vol. III., page 112. St. Petersburg, 1873. Vol. II., page 18. St. Petersburg, 1876.

6.—Epistola Pauli ad Romanos, XV., 24, 28.

7.—Iter Benjaminum, Ed. II., 2, note 5.

7a.—Z. Frankel, Entwurf einer Geschichte der Literatur der nachtalmudischen Responsen, page 3 to 5. Breslau, 1865.

8.—Dr. A. Berliner, Aus dem inneren Leben der Juden im Mittelalter, page 5.

9.—It is a remarkable fact that only morally and intellectually degraded princes persecuted the Jews, while rulers distinguished equally by good character and high mental gifts protected them and looked after their advancement. We find the exact opposite of affairs among the Christians till about 1200 p.c.—*Schleiden.*

10.—The Jews might even now be called "The people of the Writ." Prussian statistics for the year 1875 showed absolute illiteracy as follows;

	Males	Females
Jews	3·9	5·8
Protestants	6·6	11·4
Roman Catholics ...	15·1	21·8

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11.—Leviticus XIX, 2, 3, 9-18, 29, 32-36.

12.—Ginsburger, Medicina Ex Talmudicis. Haller, Bibliotheca medic. practicae lib. II.

13.—E. Deutsch. "The Talmud Quarterly Review." October, 1867.

14.—For a deeper study of this interesting part of the history of the human race, I recommend the following works which I have used as basis of proof of many of my statements, even where I have not specifically named them—*Schleiden.*

Bartolloci, "Bibliotheca Rabbinica." Bédarride, "Les Juifs en France, en Italie et en Espagne, etc," 1867. Basnage, "Histoire de la Réligion des Juifs depuis Jésus Christ." 5 Volumes. Rotterdam, 1707. Ath. Beugust, "Les Juifs d'Occident," ou "Recherches sur l'État civil, etc., pendant le Moyen Age.' Paris, 1824. Dr. Julius Fürst, "Cultur- und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien." Part I. Leipzig, 1849. Dr. Abraham Geiger "Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte." Part I. to III. Breslau, 1865 to 1871. Dr. H. Grätz, "Geschichte der Juden." Volumes III. to VI. Leipzig, 1861 to 1863. Plantavitius, "Florilegium Rabbinicum." De Rossi, "Dizionario degli Autori Ebrei." Otto Stobbe, "Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters" Brunswick, 1866.

15.—Stern (Würzburg) Ueber den Talmud.

I quote from his publication :

A part of the Talmud deserves to be mentioned not appertaining to the Agada, viz., the scientific portion.

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The halachic discussions lead us to various scientific subjects: Astronomy, Natural Science, Anatomy, Medicine, Geometry, History, etc., etc.

The Talmudical writers frequently gave proof of their occupying the highest position in science and of the fact that they accepted *Truth* wherever they found it.

They were the authors of a Calendar which shows no defects to-day. The enumeration of the bones of the human body as given in the Talmud agrees to a tolerable degree with modern anatomy. The Talmud proves that various Mishnaic sentences are based upon geometrical principles which were known to few mathematicians of the period.

16.—Dr. L. Lazarus, "Zur Charakteristik der Talmudischen Ethik," annual report of the Jewish Theological Seminary, 1877, 1 to 7.

17.—Geiger, "Das Judenthum, etc.," II., page 76.

18.—Cardinal du Perron speaks of the Franciscan monk, Nicolaus de Lyra in definite terms as "Juif converty" in his "Perroniana et Thuana." Cologne, 1694. page 233.

19.—E. Rénan, "Les Apôtres," page 262. E. Deutsch, Talmud.

20.—Lex Visigothorum liber XII., tit. 2, §4; tit. 3, §9 to 11.

21.—Bernays, Programme of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Breslau, 1856.

22.—Josephus contra Apionem, lib. I., cap. 22. Eusebius Präparationes Evangelicae, lib. IX., cap. 3. Dr. A. Schmiedel in "Frankel's Monatschift," 9 annual page 98. Leipzig, 1860.

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23.—Sylvestre de Sacy, "Chrestomatie Arabe," I., 350. Zeitschrift der "Deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft." Page 376. 1859.

24.—Ritter, "Geschichte der Christlichen Philosophie," I., page 640. Göttingen, 1858.

25.—Jourdain, "Recherches critiq. sur l'âge et l'origine des Traductions Latines," I., III., §8.

26.—Munk, "Mélange de Philosophie juive et arabe." Page 291. Paris, 1857 to 1859.

27.—H. Heine, "Romancero." Jehuda ben Halevi. The poet praising the poet.

28.—Frank, "La Kabbale."

29.—Graetz, "Geschichte der Juden," VII., 1, page 65 to 90, and notes 12, page 466.

30.—Maimonides only late in life became acquainted with the works of Averroes. Compare Munk "Journal Asiatique," page 31, July 1842; Renan "Averroes et l'Averroisme," page 179.

31.—Compare among others:

Dr. M. Joel, "Einfluss der Jüdischen Philosophie auf die Christliche Scholastik" in "Frankel's Monatsschrift," page 210, 1860; and the same author "Verhältniss Albert des Grossen zu Moses Maimonides." Breslau, 1863.

32.—Dr. M. Joel, "Spinoza's theologisch- politischer Tractat auf seine Quellen geprüft." Breslau, 1872.

33.—Dr. M. Joel, "Levi ben Gerson als Religions-Philosoph." Breslau, 1872.

34.—Dr. M. Joel, "Don Chasdai Crescas religionsphilosophische Lehren." Breslau, 1866.

35.—Sayings of the Jewish Fathers. Chapter IV., §2.

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36.—Bernays, "Die Pseudophikiliden." Programme of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Breslau, 1856.

37.—Fürst, "Bibliotheca Judaica," I., 356.

38.—I have treated Ethics and particularly Maimonides' ethical views with great brevity, as I can recommend an excellent elaboration of this subject, viz.. Dr. David Rosin "Die Ethik des Maimonides. Programme of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Breslau, 1876.

39.—Compare the same author.

40.—Vaisatte, Histoire générale de Languedoc, III., Preuves, page 372.

41—If a heretic is called a dog, one evidently remembers that the blind are led by dogs. Compare: Jean Paul, vol. LXIV. page 150. Edition Reimers.

42.—Compare Dr. Rosin.

43.—Moses Mendelssohn translated this prayer into German and it was partly cited by Bédarride. Page 489.

44.—"Histoire de la faculté de médecine à Montpellier," by Astruc. Page 14. Prunelle, "Discours sur l'influence de la médecine sur la renaissance des lettres," page 44 to 60.

45.—Bédarride, page 72 and page 459.

46.—Basnage, "Histoire des Juifs." Livre VII., chap. 21.

47.—Ephiphanius. Opp. page 18 to 22. Ideler, "Lehrbuch der Chronologie." Page 189 to 255. Berlin, 1831.

48.—Dr. J. Fürst, "Cultur und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien." Part I., page 45.

48a.—J. Lionville, "Journal d. Mathem." Vol. IV., page 262 and 271. Paris, 1839.

49 and 50.—Dr. J. Fürst. Compare same work as cited in note 48.

51.—Ideler. Compare his work cited in note 47 on Meton's Cycle.

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52.—Wuestenfeld, "Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher," page 20.

53.—Montucla, "Histoire de Mathem," volume I., page 419.

54.—Munk, "Mélanges etc.," page 497, note 2. Kepler, Epistola ad Johannem Remum.

55.—Bayle, "Diction. Hist. et crit. Article Abrabanel Boissi." "Dissertations sur les Juifs," page 2.

56.—Exodus XX., 4 and 5. Leviticus XXVI., 1.

57.—Alcharisi considered that to be a competent translator it is necessary *firstly* to understand thoroughly the language from which one translates, *secondly* to possess an equally reliable knowledge of the language into which one translates, and *thirdly* to have a perfect command of the subject with which the work to be translated deals.

Compare: Kaempf, "Die erste Makame des Charisi." Berlin, 1848. Beugnot, "Les Juifs d'Orient," contains a French version of a part of the "Makames."

58.—Dr. Pauer, "Immanuel and Dante," in the year-book of the "Deutsche Dante Gesellschaft," vol. III. & IV.

59.—For translations of Hebrew poems of the earliest period I advise you to look up Dr. E. Meier, "Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Hebräer." Leipzig, 1856.

For later periods read: Dr. M. Sachs, "Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien" Berlin, 1845. Zunz, "Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters." Berlin, 1855 to 1867. Dr. A. Sulzbach, "Dichterklänge aus Spanien's besseren Tagen." Frankfurt a/M, 1873. Dr. H. Jolowicz, "Polyglotte der orientalischen Poesie." Leipzig, 1853. Etc., etc.

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60.—Von der Hagen, "Deutsche Minnesänger," vol. II., page 258. Vol. IV., page 356. Leipzig, 1836.

61.—Kayserling, "Die Jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur, und Kunst." Leipzig, 1878.

62.—Haller, "Bibliotheca medicinae practicae," vol. 2, page 338. K. Sprengel, "Geschichte der Arzneikunde,' vol. II., page 352, 2nd edition, 1800.

63 and 64.—E. Renan, "Averroés et l'Averroisme," 3rd edition. Paris, 1866. Pages 186 and 188.

65.—Bédarride in his "Histoire des Juifs" gives a large number of translators, page 546.

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